1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

in front of the house. This is an innovation, for originally boiling was unknown to any of the Timbira, who probably cooked on the spit or in the ashes at the fires by their camp sites. Borrowed from the Neobrazilians along with the cooking pots, these fireplaces are always under the roof. Finally, there is the earth oven (kĩyačą), invariably, whether in the village or in an encampment, several meters behind the dwelling and toward the open steppe except for certain special ceremonies, when it must be constructed in front of the houses, at the inner margin of the boulevard. When not in use, the oven appears as an ugly hodge-podge of rocks, dug-up earth, charred logs, leaves, and old mats. It is common to all Timbira tribes.

The fireplaces of the age classes in the plaza do not serve for the preparation of food.

If a fire should go out nowadays and there is no neighbor from whom one could borrow a brand, the Indians strike fire with the Neobrazilian strike-a-light consisting of the tip of a cow horn, steel, and flint, with charred cotton for tinder. However, everybody is still familiar with the old drill (rą'ra) composed of two urucú staves. The drill itself is about ½-m. long, somewhat less than a finger's breadth, and terminates in a blunt point. The hearth is about of the same length and somewhat thicker. The pit of the hearth has a lateral groove, which, however, is sometimes lacking. (Fig. 2.) The driller sits down and presses the hearth against the ground with his feet (pl. 5, *c*). On trips to the plantations or to catch fish in the brook at night it is customary to take along firebrands.

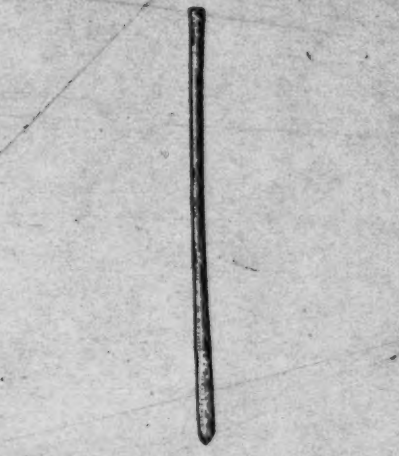

Fig. 2. Fire drill. ⅛ nat. size.

For blowing the fire into a flame the Indians use a fire fan (kapẽ'rčą), that is, a quadrangular or hexagonal little mat of babassu, anajá, or bacaba palm grass (pl. 12, *a*). Occasionally it may also serve as a seat, for shoveling away offal, or for covering a pot.

It is the women's duty to fetch firewood, and usually one will invite another to join her. But should there be a large, dry log that is too heavy, a man will often do the carrying.

The origin of fire is explained in a myth which I have recorded with only minor variations among the Rąmkõ'kamekra, Krẽyé of Baeabal, Apinayé, and Šerénte.[259]

Special structures.—Apart from ceremonial huts, which are always removed after the festive season, I observed the following structures in Ponto. Somewhat behind and on one side of the house inhabited by the widowed chief Kukrãčą' and his kinswomen there stood under a roof (fornyũkwa; from Portuguese *forno*, roasting pan) a huge copper roasting pan for the preparation of manioc flour; it rested on four wooden legs driven into the ground. The chief had received it as a gift from an Indian friend some twenty-five years ago. It was used by all the villagers, who in return gave the chief some of the flour they prepared. In Pedra

[259] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 154 *et seq.*, 1939.

1: Nimuendaju E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

Ge SLS

divided (according to their own account) into those anciently known and those adopted after intercourse with Neobrazilians.

Aboriginally known:

Maize, põkỵ' (*Zea mays*)	Ground nut, kahẹ' (*Arachis* sp.)
Sweet potato, yạt (*Batatas edulis*)	[European name lacking], kupá (*Cissus* sp.)
Yam, krõrõ' (*Dioscorea* sp.)	Cotton, kačẹ't (*Gossypium* sp.)
Manioc, kwụr (*Manihot utilissima*)	Bottle gourd, kõkán (*Lagenaria* sp.)
Sweet manioc, kwụr-kahẹ'k (*Manihot aipi*)	Cuyeté, kõ'tšé (*Crescentia* sp.)
Horse bean, pạnkrịt' (*Phaseolus* sp.)	Cuya de rama, ——— (*Cucurbita* sp.)
Arrowroot, kurúare (*Maranta* sp.)	Urucá, pụ (*Bixa orellana*)
Gourd, kõkánkahẹ'k (*Cucurbita* sp.)	

Adopted after intercourse with Neobrazilians:

Rice	Beans	Pineapple
Watermelon	Orange	Tobacco
Banana	Lemon	Tinguy (fish poison)
Sugar-cane	Mango	
Cayenne pepper	Papaya	

The only plant-origin myth relates to maize and coincides with the Apinayé equivalent.[142] It combines two principal motives—the world tree and the star wife. The former occurs among Carib peoples of Guiana, having been recorded by Koch-Grünberg among the Taulipáng, by Brett among the Akawoí, by Im Thurn and Roth for the Carib proper, while Nordenskiöld reports it from the Arawakan Čáne of the northern Chaco. The other motive seems to be derived from the Šerénte, who far more logically connect it not with the origin of maize, but with a visit to the sky.

Nordenskiöld derives Gê yạt (sweet potato) from Tupí yetị'k, which is supposed to point to a transmission of the species from the Tupí. I consider this highly improbable, for the Northwestern Gê would never have lopped off an accented syllable, but would presumably have transmuted the hypothetical loan-word into yetí (cf. below as to the assimilation of Tupí tapití). Further, there is a striking fact: Tupí agriculture stresses maize and manioc, the Northwestern and Central Gê emphasize sweet potatoes and yams, which virtually furnish their daily bread but play a more modest role among the Tupí.

In my description of Apinayé tillage I noted that the Northwestern and Central Gê probably did not acquire manioc from either the Tupí or the Karayá, whose methods of employment and preparation are totally distinct.[143] Against such borrowing may further be cited the term kwụr, uniformly distributed as it is over the entire Northwestern branch, from the Suyá to the remotest Timbira tribes. From Ribeiro's denial of the Krahõ' Indians' familiarity with *the preparation of flour*—"farinha de pau," that is, flour from unfermented manioc[144]—it does not by any means follow, as Snethlage assumes,[145] that they lacked manioc altogether. For they may very well have used it as they do today, in the form of pies baked in earth ovens. In recent times the Eastern Timbira have adopted the preparation of flour together with the basketry press, not from the Tupí-Guajajára, but from Neobraziliana. This is indicated by their designating this utensil not by the Guajajára term tipiti, but by its disfigured Neobrazilian form tapití, assimilated to Timbira phonology as tapti. They further give to the roasting pan its Portuguese name, forno.

The species of arrowroot planted by the Rąmkõ'kamekra differs from the Neobrazilian form.

[142] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 165–167.
[143] *Ibid.*, 88.
[144] Memoria, § 73.
[145] Nordostbras. Ind., 162.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

tamed peccary (taitetú). The pąrare race and probably the pereá hunt also, with the subsequent race, may be secondary transfers from ketúaye to pepyé.

The principal object of ketúaye is manifestly to bring the boys into contact with the spirits of the dead—a singular association of religion with the socioceremonial organization of this tribe (cf. p. 163). This communion, helpful and necessary for the boys, is fraught with danger for all inexperienced persons. This basic idea finds expression not only in the origin myth, which reports how the several ceremonies and songs of the spirits were furtively seen and overheard, but also in such acts as the feeding of the boys with invisible victuals. Evidently the original belief was that the spirits, lured by their own songs as regularly chanted by the boys, enter the bodies of the novices, who henceforth behave like the spirits themselves until these are removed by ablutions and flagellation. Hence the race with the miniature logs of the spirits.

[771] However, no contemporary Canella clearly grasps this conception. While some informants offer explanations and suggestions wholly in harmony with mine, others search for all sorts of rationalistic or even therapeutic warrants *ad hoc*, exposing the secondary character of their interpretations. These men are honestly convinced that all ceremonial exists for its own sake exclusively and do not bother their heads over questions of origin and significance.

The Apinayé, who in general are somewhat more religiously inclined, wholly lack the notion of a communion between novices and spirits at initiation.

Quite different is the object of pepyé, said to have originated in the voluntary seclusion of two boys for the express purpose of developing as rapidly as possible into strong young men—not in order to marry, but in order to avenge their parents, killed by a man-eating giant falcon. The avowed purpose of entering as a boy and suddenly emerging as a handsome young man, according to Indian standards of beauty, is too transparent a notion to have escaped even the attention of Neo-brazilian neighbors. Any settler when questioned will at once explain that the Indians shut up their lads in a *chiqueiro* (pigsty) and marry them off after forced feeding designed to enhance their virility.

[884] Actually graduation from the entire initiation cycle was a prerequisite to matrimony, but by no means rendered immediate marriage obligatory. For one thing, the age of the initiates would range from fifteen to twenty-five, while males rarely took a wife before they were twenty. However, the pepyé festival does include instructions about the choice of spouses and married life, and the terminal ceremony, in which their prospective mothers-in-law lead the initiates by a rope, drastically represents the impending union.

Thus, the ketúaye is basically a religious performance, while the pepyé belongs to the social sphere.

I shall now present the origin myth of the ketúaye and then describe my own observations; this will be followed by parallel data on the pepyé.

KETÚAYE

Origin myths.—The great falcon Hąkti had devoured so many villagers that the survivors decided to flee. A boy who had been delayed in a plantation and knew nothing of this decision was left behind. When at last he went home and entered the deserted village, he saw in the plaza a crowd of dancing and singing figures who were painted red. He was about to walk up to them at once, when the shade of his deceased uncle warned him to go round the outside of the village. The souls of the dead in the plaza, however, had already noticed him. "Look, there is a boy coming!" cried one. "He is mine!" cried another. "No, mine!" exclaimed a third. The boy fled, but outside the settlement he climbed a lofty tree, from which he could survey the plaza. Thence he saw how something was being brought to the souls from the houses. They knelt down, cupped their hands

1: Nimuendaju E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

796 881 773

under their mouths, and were fed in this posture. Then they resumed dancing and sang, "hamuyẽ-hẽ hamuyõ-ho a-hõ hamuyẽ-hẽ hamuyõ-hõ a-hõ hamuyẽ rikavá!" They also had other songs, which the boy learnt. When he at last caught up with his people, he reported about the behavior of the dead and taught them their songs.

Another myth connects with a cannibalistic Arazon, Kupẽtiayabré, who had driven the Indians to abandon their village because of her attacks and who had raised two kidnaped boys. One of these stole a pet mutum (*Mitua mitu*) of the cannibal's, and she then plotted against their lives, but at night they managed to escape. In the evening they reached the deserted tribal village and were very hungry. Outside they met their grandfather, who was fetching firewood. He accompanied the boys into the village, where many people were dancing in the plaza. The old man fed the boys, but the food disappeared before they had touched it. Then the boys recognized that the beings dwelling there were the souls of the dead. When they returned to their kin, they told about this experience. Then a brave and clever man returned to the deserted village and clandestinely learned the souls' chants and ceremonies.

796 881

Organization in 1930; officers.—This was the third ketúaye of the põhjtĩkama age class. The first, opening their cycle, had occurred in 1926, but was not performed according to the proper routine, hence had to be repeated the next year. In 1928, pepkahą'k, a festival independent of initiation, was celebrated; in 1929 the age class underwent the first performance of the second phase, pepyé; and in 1930 the second half of the cycle started with a third ketúaye.

Arriving about the end of May, 1930, I found that the ceremony had begun about a fortnight before, hence for this period I have to depend on the statements of participants. Confidentially, the elders had told me in the previous year that the celebration would begin in May, but the exact date of the commencement was only decided in a general conclave of the councilors. It was purposely postponed until the Indian agent in Barra do Corda assured them that I was coming soon. The general direction was assumed by two chiefs, of whom Hąktokót, representing the western plaza groups, played the chief part. His colleague Kukrãčą' represented the eastern plaza groups, for in ketúaye the significant dual grouping is that of the plaza.

The chiefs first appointed as two mekapónkote, one from each of these nonexogamous moieties, two young men in their mid-twenties, who had graduated from initiation and were qualified for this office by their serious disposition. They command the two plaza moieties of the ketúaye and carry as badges two long, thin rods. In a procession they march at the tail end of the ketúaye.

Next were chosen two hapąnkate (catchers), one from each plaza moiety—men of about thirty, with constabulary duties. These officials carry sword clubs and wear plaited forehead cords and bandoleers.

At the initial ketúaye of this class in 1926 the elders had already selected two mamkyẽ'ti (class leaders) from among the novices starting on their cycle. This office is lifelong, hence the same functionaries served in 1930. They invariably lead a procession. Their badge consists of a fanlike occipital ornament of towering arara tail feathers (pl. 35, *a*).

Since the office of the girl associates (mekuičwẽ'i) is also lifelong, the present incumbents, Koté and Hąrarák, had been appointed at the opening of the cycle and had served in the three preceding performances of the current cycle. Contrary to my own earlier information, these associates do not represent the exogamous moieties; they are chosen with reference to their *patrilineal* descent to represent the two rainy season (ką'makra and atų'kmakra) moieties. When they are painted for the closing pepyé celebration, one girl is reckoned as of a western plaza group (kétre), the other as of an eastern plaza group (čépre).

796 881 554

The girls' place is in the middle of the boys' line. Each has as her badge two chest

1: Nimuendaju E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

K79L 575 527

The term kõkrị't is not related to the words for tapir (kukrų't) and king vulture (kukriti), but is probably composed of kõ, water, and krịt, wild. It refers to a race of monsters that, according to legend, once infested the Rio Tocantins, but has retreated downstream since the ingress of Neobrazilians. The Indians still believe in the existence of these kõkrị't and repeatedly asked me whether I had not somewhere in the course of my travels encountered these monsters along some uninhabited river. The term is often combined with the diminutive (-re) and augmentative (-ti) suffixes; and to designate the costumes the speaker adds -ho (leaves, straw): kõkrị'trehõ', kõkrị'ttihõ'.

773 539 527

Origin myths.—The origin of the society is thus explained by the Rąmkõ'kamekra:

The youngest age class was hunting on the Tocantins. As usual, an old man accompanied them. After they had killed and smoked a tapir, the commandant decided to return. When they had already covered a fair distance from the river, the old man recalled having left his bow behind. He asked several of the youths to run back and fetch it, but none was willing. Then at last the old man got angry and walked back alone.

When he got to the river, he saw himself suddenly surrounded by the kõkrị't. One of these, who had noticed the hunters from a distance, had hurriedly turned back and summoned all his mates. These did not, indeed, find the hunters any more, but unexpectedly met the elder. One of the monsters dashed up, threatening to spit him on his horn, but the old man begged for his life on the plea of his age. Then Kanpéy, chief of the kõkrị't, came up, forbade the others to molest the elder, and shielding him under his fringed garment, led him into the kõkrị't, village. He treated him kindly and advised him to watch the villagers closely during their dancing. The old man took careful note of everything, finally returned after five days, had the Rąmkõ'kamekra make costumes of burity bast that looked exactly like the kõkrị't themselves, and taught them the dances and behavior of the monsters.

Another experience with the kõkrị't is recounted as follows:

The kõkrị't were in the habit of gamboling about on the surface of the water and the sandbanks, producing a very disagreeable odor. One day the Indians noticed a young kõkrị't on a sandbank while the older ones were playing in the water. They ran up and kidnapped the young monster, supposing that the kõkrị't were agile only inside of the water and would find it awkward to run on land. But as soon as the old kõkrị't had detected what was going on, they dashed to the bank and pursued the abductors, who were fleeing with their booty as fast as they could. Ahead of all other kõkrị't ran Espóra, from whose wrath the Indians finally fled up a tree. He raged about its trunk and ran against it with his horns so that splinters flew off. Then the Indians were frightened and threw the young one back to him, and he went off with it.

The Pųkóbye, among whom I saw kõkrị't costumes in 1929, designated them simply as krowahõ', burity straw. Their origin tale is strongly reminiscent of the story by which the Rąmkõ'kamekra explain the origin of the tepyarkwá festival:

Two hunters accompanied by their dog were pursuing a tapir. The beast fled to a big lake, plunged into its water, and swam away from the bank, followed by the dog. One of the hunters also jumped in and swam after them. The other remained on the bank; seeing the game and its pursuers getting farther and farther away, he called to his companion to come back, but his advice remained unheeded. Suddenly he saw piranhas (predatory fish, viz. *Serrassimo* sp.) attacking and devouring first the tapir, then the dog, and finally the hunter.

The piranhas had their village at the bottom of the water. When their chief heard what had occurred, he ordered his warriors to spew out all the flesh of the man they had eaten. This he had them lay on leaves and called the little piabinhas, the cleverest and ablest of all fish, so they might put the man's body together again. At once there appeared a school of these little fish and applied themselves zealously to the task, the chief standing by and urging them on. Soon the body of the man was again completely put together, and the piabinhas were allowed to depart. Now the chief summoned the suruby (*Platystoma* sp.), a magician, who resuscitated the man.

In honor of the resurrected Indian a festival was arranged, at which there were also masked dancers. The man noted whatever took place and resolved to imitate the krowahõ' on returning to his village. When the performance was over, the fishes led him to the entrance of a cave under

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

X796
527
773
575

water, which led obliquely upward. It was the cave of the taitetú pigs. By this the hunter returned to the upper world, where he introduced the krowahõ' costumes among his fellow tribesmen.

I probably misunderstood the final part of the myth when I heard it. Originally I assumed that the piranhas themselves had danced in masquerade, which was puzzling since this would still leave the origin of the masks unaccounted for. At present I conjecture that at the festival of the piranhas the hunter is supposed to see the kõkrį't monsters themselves, whom he imitated in the upper world by using the krowahõ' masquerade.

527
575
535

Costumes.—(See pls. 37–39.) A stick, 1 m. long, resting transversely on the crown of the wearer's head, and two somewhat shorter mats, plaited of split young burity leaves, which hang from this horizontal support, constitute a costume. The front mat is about ½-m. in width, the posterior one somewhat wider. Both are hexagonal, but with three of the sides so short that from a distance the effect is that of an isosceles right-angled triangle, the horizontal bar forming the hypotenuse. The sides and lower margin of both mats are bordered by a heavy fringe of long burity fibers. From the center of the lower edge of the anterior mat a slit a span in length extends vertically upward. On the inside a pair of plaited cords hangs from the lower end of this opening on either side, and by seizing them with both hands the wearer is able to move the edges of the slit.

To the posterior mat are fastened two horns of pau rôxo wood about 2 m. long which project obliquely upward and outward; they meet at the middle of the lower margin, forming a right angle, and extend beyond the ends of the transverse rod. By a chin strap the wearer ties to his head a pad of burity bast in order to relieve the pressure of the stick. He looks outside through the upper part of the slit. The front mat extends about to the middle of the chest, whence the fiber fringe so completely hides the body that even the masquerader's feet are invisible, at least when he stands at rest. Horizontally a tuft of grass a span in length projects from the middle of the posterior side; it represents a bunch of hair from the head tied together. On the front of the costume the eyes are painted with red and black pigments made of almecega rosin with urucú, and of this rosin with powdered charcoal, respectively. However, one type of mask lacks eyes, substituting a broad horizontal stripe.

The Rąmkõ'kamekra themselves use eight types of kõkrį'thó (fig. 15, *a–i*) and ascribe three additional forms to other Timbira tribes (fig. 15, *j–l*). They call the foreign outfits by the same designations as the indigenous equivalents, only adding the suffix kahą'k (similar to). The kenpéy (headman) and ihõkẽ'n (clown) type are represented each by a single sample during a festival; the mekra tamtúato hók type always occurs doubly (for the girl associates); the remaining five types exist in from two to four specimens. In 1935 the membership of the society had been decreased by the smallpox, so that by way of an exception there was not a single costume of the tephothõ' type. The alien Timbira forms never figure at a Rąmkõ'-kamekra performance, which normally uses the following:

1. kenpéy (= echo), the leader's mask, lacks eyes, substituting a smooth, black forehead stripe along the lower side of the transverse rod (fig. 15, *a*). The posterior mat is painted with black animal figures, usually two monkeys, on the right and the left sides. Usually members other than the leader also put on kenpéy masks, which, however, are then distinguished by the jagged sawlike lower edge of the forehead stripe (fig. 15, *b*). This variant, also called krãti (big head), likewise bears black monkey figures on the back.

2. tõkaivéu has for each eye three concentric black circles and a central point, the spaces between the circles being dyed red. In addition, this mask has circular ears painted on and bears a moustache of thin bast fibers at both sides of the slit (fig. 15, *c*). On the back there are two vertical rows of short, black double strokes.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

Thus closed the pepkahą'k. On the following morning the several collaborating societies and the pepkahą'k arranged a shooting contest on the radial streets. This continued for hours until the eastern vų'tę' brought an enormous gourd bowl filled with food, which was jointly consumed in the plaza. Thus the vų'tę' ceremonial once more gained dominance.

Tepyarkwá

This is still another of the three major festivals one of which is intercalated during years without initiation ceremonies. Tep means "fish"; yarkwá, "its mouth" (figuratively, "its song"); the designation of the festival thus signifies "Fish Song."

Origin myth.—As usual, this explains not the ultimate origin, but the alleged loan of the ceremony from previous performers. The tale recalls the Pųkóbye myth about Mummers' costumes (p. 202).

The Indians had planted their plots; having nothing to eat before the harvest, they moved to settle for some time on the west bank of the Tocantins, where there were many babassu palms.

After a while two young men were sent back to inspect the state of the fields. When they got to the river, they decided to cross without the trouble of making burity leafstalk floats, merely swimming unaided. Tying their few possessions to the tips of their bows, they began to swim; but when they were precisely in midstream a huge sucuriju (*Eunectes murinus* = anaconda) loomed up out of the water near by. Then the man named Pore'téy said, "If the sucuriju devours one of us, the other shall not swim on but turn back at once and inform the people!" The snake got closer and closer, at last reaching and seizing Pore'téy. He let go his bow and trumpet and the snake devoured him. His companion, witnessing the calamity, at once turned back to the bank and hurried to camp with the news. Pore'téy's kin cried bitterly.

Three days later the sucuriju was lying on the bank bloated with its prey. A school of piabinhas (Characinid: *Tetragonopterus* sp.) noticed it as they swam past and reported the fact to the chief of fish, Suruby (*Platystoma* sp.), who dispatched another fish to verify the report. Then he called together all the fish and moved to the spot where the snake was lying. He ordered one fish to crawl into the snake's open mouth to find out what it had devoured. When the fish returned from the snake's belly, it reported having seen a man still alive, since his heart was still beating. Then Suruby bade one fish after another crawl in until the man's body grew loose and slippery. Finally he sent the jejú (*Erythrinus unitaeniatus;* these fish are covered with a slippery phlegm), which pushed the man out of the serpent's mouth. They moved and stroked him back to normal condition and washed him. When he had returned to consciousness and was suffering less pain, Suruby took him to his village and fed him.

The fishes and other water animals were just about to celebrate a great festival, so Pore'téy was able to witness the whole of the ceremonial in Suruby's company. He paid close attention, taking pains to memorize everything. When at last the fishes brought him back to land and dismissed him, he returned to his village and taught the Indians everything he had observed at the fishes' festival. Since then the Indians have celebrated the Fish Song.

Personnel.—This consists of seven ceremonial groups—the six plaza groups (menkąčą) plus the Clown society (me'kén), composed of members of all the plaza groups. During the festival the following ceremonial companies correspond to the plaza groups and are localized accordingly in the plaza.

Western	Eastern
kupẽ' = teprãti (small fish species)	čõdn = čeučétre (stingray)
kétre=apą'n (piranha)	čẽ'pre = tẽ're (fish otter)
aučét = tep (fish, generically)	hąkã = tep (fish, generically)

The Clowns take their position on the north side of the plaza, between the eastern and the western tep companies. The five Fish companies jointly form a unified whole, the Fish Otters standing segregated as their counterpart, and the Clowns in opposition to all the six others.

The actual leader of the Fish companies is the crier, kõyamprõ' (water foam). His appointment by the council at some log race starts the preparations for the festival. Usually the office devolves on Koipóro, famous for his strong and deep

Their public cult performances may be counted on the fingers of one hand, and several years elapsed before I discovered a private act unrelated to animism.

The Sun and Moon myth of the Eastern Timbira greatly resembles that of the Apinayé[=] and Šerénte. I heard it not on'y among the Rąmkõ'kamekra, but also wholly or in part among the Pụkóbye, Kre'pụ'mkateye, Krẽyé of Bacabal, and the Krahõ'. Both characters are conceived as male and as related to each other. In Rąmkõ'kamekra myth they create mankind by diving in a brook, in a Pụkóbye variant, from bottle gourds in a plantation; but in none of the other six episodes of the myth do they in any way work for the benefit of humanity. Nevertheless the Rąmkõ'kamekra regard themselves as primarily dependent on the Sun (Pụt) and in much lesser degree also on the Moon (Pụduvrí).

The purpose of all the general cult performances is to invoke the heavenly bodies to protect food plants and animals. These acts comprise prayers to the Sun for rain (p. 62), for protection of game animals (p. 71), and on behalf of wild fruits (p. 72); and to the Moon to prosper the crops when maize has grown to about 3 feet in height (p. 62).

On the other hand, there was no trace of religion at the maize-planting ceremony (p. 62), nor was the hõčwá ceremony on behalf of the sweet-potato crop at all related to Sun and Moon worship, though it does bear a magical significance (p. 63).

During the entire period of my stay I witnessed only two instances of a person's supplicating the Sun. The first time a young woman was praying for a child (p. 130); the second time I heard a mother instructing her approximately seven-year-old son, who had been ill for a long time, to invoke the Sun as follows: "Kédeti! Iymą ampõ'nõ, vatoekũne iypey! (Grandfather! Give me a remedy so that I'll recover!)" Further, I learnt that, when putting the mats soiled at the delivery into the fork of a steppe tree, the mother of a lying-in woman supplicates the Sun, as stated (p. 106), to protect the newborn infant.

The prayers have no fixed text, the suppliant addressing the Sun spontaneously as though conversing with an ordinary person. Thus some address him as pa'pám, Our Father; others as Kédeti, Grandfather. I have never heard of any Rąmkõ'kamekra seeing Sun or Moon in dreams or visions.

There is little knowledge of the course of the heavenly bodies. Time is reckoned by lunar phases and by seasons (rainy and dry). They do not know how many full moons there are in a year, being handicapped by their aboriginal number system, which does not go beyond four. They do not ponder the nature of the solar body. They know approximately where the sun rises and sets during the wet and the dry season, but they do not empirically determine the solstice or use it in time reckoning.

The younger age classes, regularly assembled in the plaza at sunset, always consider it fun to expect the appearance of the new moon, each youth vying with the rest to discover it first. As soon as it is detected, everybody raises his hands and utters piercing shouts "to give pleasure to the Moon."

The moon spots are explained in Rąmkõ'kamekra myth (p. 244) and somewhat differently by the Krẽyé of Bacabal.[=] No explanation was obtained for the lunar phases.

A lunar eclipse is called pụduvrį hitįk, that is, dying of the moon. In 1935 I witnessed one and went purposely to the plaza to sleep there. Since the sky was somewhat clouded, the Indians did not notice what was going on until the darkening

[=] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 158.
[=] Nimuendajú, Vokabular und Sagen der Crengê.

Ir Nimuendajú E-8 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

VI. MYTHS AND TALES

FIRE

773 539

It happened before the Indians had fire; they would dry meat on a stone slab in the sun in order not to eat it quite raw.

A man had found an arara nest with young birds in a cleft of a vertical cliff. He took a boy, his brother-in-law, with him to catch the birds. Chopping down a tree, he leaned it against the wall, so the boy could climb up. But when the lad tried to seize the nestlings they made such an outcry that he was afraid to touch them. The man ordered him not to delay throwing them down, and when the boy still showed fear, the man got furious, knocked the tree over, and left.

His little brother-in-law, unable to descend without the tree, remained sitting by the nest. He almost died of thirst, and the old araras circling above him defecated on his head so that maggots grew there; and the young birds soon lost all fear of him.

Then a jaguar passed by the foot of the cliff. Seeing the boy's shadow, he snatched at it when the boy moved his arm. At last the boy spat down; then the jaguar looked up and noticed him. "What are you doing up there?" he asked. "I was to capture young araras and because I was afraid to grab them my brother-in-law got angry and knocked down the tree by which I had climbed up." "Throw down the young araras to me!" the jaguar ordered. The boy obeyed, and the jaguar caught them and ate them. "Now jump down yourself!" commanded the jaguar; but the boy did not jump from fear the jaguar would eat him. "No, I shall not eat you," the jaguar calmed him, "jump down and I'll catch you!" At last the boy jumped, and the jaguar caught him between his front paws. He carried him to a creek, let him drink, washed him, and took him home.

There was a big grate of poles there with a quantity of broiled meat, and below it was glowing a huge jatobá trunk. The jaguar gave the boy a slice of broiled meat, then went hunting again while his pregnant wife stayed at home with the boy. But she could not bear the slightest noise and got angry as the boy was chewing the crisp meat. "My grandson," she shouted, raising her talons and growling at him. The boy was terrified and complained to the jaguar when he got home. The jaguar made a bow and arrows for him and told him that if his wife again threatened him, he should shoot at the palm of her hand, then flee along a road he showed him, by which he could get home. The next time the jaguar went to hunt in the woods the boy got hungry. He took a slice of broiled meat from the grate and began to eat. At once the jaguar's wife got angry at the noise of chewing, growled and showed him her claws. When she did it a third time, he shot her in the palm and ran off. Because her body was too heavy she was unable to give pursuit.

The boy took the road indicated by the jaguar and reached his home village. He told his father what had happened, that there was fire in the jaguar's house, and how good the broiled meat tasted. Then the father went to the plaza and reported everything to the men's assembly. They decided at once to bring the fire to the village.

They put up sentries along the entire route from the village to the jaguar's house, but they sent their best runner into the house; the toad went with him. The jaguar himself was away again. Then the man picked up the kindled jatobá trunk and ran away with it. The jaguar's wife begged him to leave her at least one firebrand, but nothing was left of the fire, for the toad spat at any scattered sparks in the fireplace and extinguished them. The man ran with the burning tree to the first sentry, who relieved him of his burden and ran on to the second, and so on till they all arrived in the village with the fire.

SUN AND MOON

(a) Pųt (Sun) and Pųduvrĩ (Moon) were alone on the earth and knew nothing of each other. One day Moon found human tracks in the steppe. He was very much surprised, but walked on. The next day he found the same tracks. When he found them the third time, he followed them. They led to a creek with a hut beside it; inside Sun was lying with closed eyes. Moon waited until he opened them and asked, "Who are you?" "I am from here," answered Sun. "Who are you?" "I am also from here." Then they decided to remain together and to seek a dwelling place. Sun proposed to dwell separately, each building his own hut, but Moon insisted on putting up a joint hut, with each occupying half of it.

(b) While Moon was asleep, Sun went into the steppe, where he heard woodpeckers pecking. One of them had just finished a red head-ornament of feathers that gleamed like fire. Sun asked him for the ornament; the woodpecker was willing to give it to him as a present, but warned Sun not to drop it to the ground, then he threw it down from the tree. The red feather-crown came down, twisting and flickering like a true fire. Sun caught it and threw it from one of his hands into his other till it had grown cold. Then he put it on and went home with it, where he stowed it away.

But hardly had he departed for the steppe when Moon discovered the ornament. He waited till

1: Nimuendaju E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

773
539

Sun came home and then importuned him to secure a similar decoration for him. Sun at first tried to dissuade him, but when Moon kept on urging, he took him to the woodpeckers. The birds were willing to give up another head ornament. Sun stood under the tree to catch it, but Moon declared he wanted to do that himself. "No, let me do it," said Sun, "for you don't know how, and there'll be a mishap." But Moon would not yield, for he suspected that Sun wanted to keep the second headdress for himself. Then the woodpeckers threw it down and Moon caught it in his hands, but it got so hot that he dropped it. Then the steppe was set afire. Both fled before the conflagration and tried to hide. Sun crawled into a wasps' nest of the kind immune to fire (*Polybia* sp.?), Moon into another that was not fireproof so that the heat drove him out again. He fled on and crawled for refuge into an armadillo burrow, but there the smoke drove him out. At last he reached a river, leaped in, and swam to the other bank. It took him a long time to catch up with his comrade.

(c) Meanwhile Sun had searched the burnt steppe and found two capybaras that had perished in the fire, a male and a female. He led his comrade to the booty and bade him select one of the animals. Moon chose the female, which looked fat, but when he cut her open she was lean, for Sun had furtively spat on her. In the meantime Sun made a cut into the skin of the male, and at once the fat came bulging out. Then Moon asked to exchange his lean against the fat animal. Sun consented, but when he had secretly spat on this beast, too, it turned out to have only a little fat at the incision but was otherwise execrably lean, while the female was full of fat on the inside. Then Moon lay down, worn out, annoyed, and hungry, and fell asleep while Sun roasted the liver under the ashes. When it was done, he took it out, stepped up to the sleeping Moon, and dropped it on his belly, crying, "Wake up and eat!" The hot liver burnt Moon's skin pitiably. "Run and jump into the water," Sun advised, and Moon ran to the creek to cool off.

(d) At the bottom of the creek the acangapara turtle was lying buried in the sand, the water only bubbling up over her nose. "Leave it alone!" Sun warned, but his companion went there and raised it a little. Immediately a torrent of water burst forth from under the animal, so that he set it down again in alarm. But when through with bathing, he again went and lifted its entire body. Now the water came rushing forth in such quantity and with such force as to carry everything away. The current seized Moon and carried him off, while from the bank Sun vainly tried to fish out his comrade with a long burity stick he extended to him. At last the current carried him under the branches of an ingá tree, by which he pulled himself out. After a while he reached Sun with his belly burnt. The spots are still to be seen on the moon's belly.

(e) Then Sun went out alone again. He staked off a bit of woodland, made a stone ax, and let it chop down the wood. He himself went home while the ax worked on by itself, and when Moon asked where he had been he answered that he had been hunting. But Moon got suspicious and followed his trail. When he got to the woods, he heard the ax working. He cried aloud, "Who is there?" At once the ax fell down and remained motionless. Thus after a while Sun found it when he came to inspect the work. He raised it and tried to make it work again, but it remained motionless. If Moon had not meddled, our axes would still work by themselves and we should not have to bother about chopping down trees.

(f) Furiously Sun went home, took his club, knocked down his comrade, and covered his body with twigs; but soon he regretted having slain him. After a while Moon got up again, and bitterly complained about Sun's attempt to kill him. Sun admonished him not to spy on him over again lest he should really be killed.

(g) Sun went to the watered meadow where the burity palms were standing with ripe fruit; at that time their trunks were quite short, so that one could reach the fruits from the ground. Sun ate his fill, so that his droppings acquired a fine red coloring. Moon, who had sneaked after him, found the heap of red droppings. He sat beside it, and eased himself, but his droppings were black. This vexed him: he took some of the red feces and smeared them over his own. Sun, watching from an ambush, was angered by his comrade's behavior. When Moon annoyed him with questions as to what he had eaten, he took him along to the meadow the next day. Two burity palms were standing there with ripe fruits. He made him choose one, selected another for himself, and both began to eat. But all the fruits Moon tried were ripe on only one side and hard on the other, for Sun had secretly spat at the cluster, whereas the fruits of the other palm were all equally ripe. Then Moon proposed to trade fruit trees. Sun consented, first secretly spitting at the other cluster so that when Moon plucked fruits he again found them only half ripe. Then he was annoyed and hurled one at the trunk, which immediately shot up into the air and grew to its present height, so that no one could reach the fruit with his hands from the ground.

(h) Then both went to bathe in the creek. Sun jumped in first, head over heels, and when he emerged a handsome boy of fair complexion came with him. At once Moon tried to do likewise, but the boy who appeared by his side was ugly and black. Again Sun jumped in, and brought up a pretty girl, while Moon's squinted. Thus the two continued for a long time. That is why there are good-looking and ugly human beings, well-formed ones and those afflicted with bodily defects.

1z Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

773
539

(i) At last they separated. Sun took over the daytime, leaving the night to Moon. Moon was insistent on also having daylight, but Sun told him it was not his business to choose, and so that is how things remained.

KAČĒTIKWẹ̄I AND TỤKTI[88]

In the old days the Indians ate rotten wood with their meat because they had no cultivated plants.

There was an ugly, dark-skinned Indian; because of his appearance he was called Tụkti. One night he was lying in the plaza and looking up at the sky, where a big star was then visible. When after a while he looked up again, it had vanished. It had taken pity on the man and came down to him. Transformed into a frog, it hopped up to Tụkti and jumped on his body. He threw it off. The frog came back, and again the man hurled it away. But when it again jumped on his body, he threatened to kill it. Then the frog changed into a very beautiful, light-skinned, and very long-haired girl. "Who are you?" asked Tụkti. "I am Kačētikwẹ̄i," said she. "Why are you unmarried? You are too lazy to work, I suppose?" "No," said he, "I can't get a wife because I'm so black and ugly." Then Kačētikwẹ̄i said she would marry him and remained with him.

Before daybreak he hid her in a long gourd bottle, which he hung from the wall in his mother's house. When his companions called him to a log race in the morning, he lifted the cover before going away and looked in once more; and Kačētikwẹ̄i raised her head and smiled at him. He closed the cover and forbade all people in the house to touch it. In his absence, however, his younger brother insisted on looking in, and though his mother tried to dissuade him he took it down and untied it. Kačētikwẹ̄i again raised her head laughing, but when she saw that it was not Tụkti she immediately lowered it, for she was ashamed.

When Tụkti returned he saw at once by the cover's knot that some one had opened the vessel. When he took out Kačētikwẹ̄i in the evening, she told him there was no further need to hide her since someone else had seen her. They lay down together on the platform bed. Then Tụkti's comrades came to call him to a plaza dance, but his mother said he was unable to dance because his eyes were sore. So the lads went off except for one who took a firebrand and illuminated the bed. When he caught sight of Kačētikwẹ̄i, he put out the light at once, ran to the others, and told them what he had seen—that the girl was far more beautiful than any in the village. Then all came in the morning and looked at her.

Thereupon Kačētikwẹ̄i inquired for the bathing hole and Tụkti led her to the creek. There on the bank stood a number of maize stalks with half-ripe cobs, but no one then knew these were edible. Kačētikwẹ̄i began chewing green maize and threw the chewed kernels into Tụkti's face. He was afraid, thinking it might be a poisonous plant, and nothing could induce him to try the green maize. Then Kačētikwẹ̄i took maize cobs and sororoca (*Heliconia* sp.) leaves into the village. She pounded up the maize in a mortar, made maize cakes, and taught the Indians to eat these instead of rotten wood. At first they were suspicious, but later they came to like this new fare and decided to make a clearing in the woods and plant maize.

While they were so engaged, the stone ax broke in two. They sent a boy to the village to fetch another. On the way he met an old man from the village who was sitting by the road roasting a mucura (*Didelphys* sp.) in the ashes. "What are you roasting there, uncle?" he asked the old man. "That is nothing for boys, go away," said he. "But I am hungry and want to eat," the boy answered and kept bothering the old man till he gave in. But first he got up, cut himself a stick, such as old men use for support, and put it into the boy's hand. Then he took out what he had roasted and divided it with the boy. Then the boy's hair turned white and he remained seated as an old man in the ashes beside the other. Thus another boy found him, who was sent when the first messenger failed to return, and he reported to the people.

Kačētikwẹ̄i would have revealed other secrets, too, to her husband, if he had not insisted on cohabitation. As it was, she decided to return to the sky. Tụkti asked her to take him along since he would not be able to get another wife. All the women in the village wept over Kačētikwẹ̄i's resolution. At night she went to the plaza and began to sing, and when morning came she and Tụkti had disappeared from the earth.

AUKẽ

A village wanton named Amõčkwẹ̄i became pregnant. Once bathing together with many others, she suddenly heard the cry of a wild guinea pig. Amazed, she looked about in all directions, but was unable to discover where the cry came from. Soon after she heard it again. She went home with the rest and lay down on her bedstead. Then the cry resounded a third time, and now she recognized that it came from her own body. Then she heard the child speak, "Mother, are you already tired of carrying me?" "Yes my child," she answered, "do come out!" "Well, on such and such a day I shall come out."

[88] kaš, star; -ti, augmentative, -kwẹ̄i, feminine; tụk, black.

1: Nimuendaju E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

773
539

When Amčõkwỵ̈i was in labor, she went into the woods alone. She laid paty leaves on the ground and said, "If you are a boy, I shall kill you, but if you are a girl, I'll raise you." Then she gave birth to a boy. She made a hole, buried him, and went home. When her mother saw her coming, she asked about the child and scolded Amčõkwỵ̈i when she heard what she had done, saying she should have brought the boy for his grandmother to raise. And when she learnt that he was buried under a sucupira tree, she went there, dug up the child, washed it, and brought it home. Amčõkwỵ̈i did not want to nurse it, but the old woman did it in her place. Then the little Aukẽ addressed his mother, "Well, so you do not want to raise me?" She got frightened and answered, "Yes, I shall raise you."

Aukẽ grew very rapidly. He had the gift of transforming himself into all sorts of animals. When he bathed he turned into a fish; and when he went with others to a farm he turned into a jaguar, thereby terrifying his relatives. Then Amčõkwỵ̈i's brother decided to kill the boy. As he was seated eating a meat pie, the uncle treacherously knocked him down from behind with a club, and buried him behind the hut. But the next morning the boy came back home covered with earth. "Grandmother," said he, "why did you kill me?" "It was your uncle who killed you for frightening the people!" "No," Aukẽ promised, "I shall hurt no one." But soon after, while playing with other children, he again turned into a jaguar.

Then his uncle resolved to get rid of him in another way. He called him to come along on a honey-gathering trip. The two crossed two ranges of mountains. When they got to the top of a third, the man seized the boy and buried him into an abyss. But Aukẽ turned himself into a dry leaf and was slowly wafted to the ground. He expectorated and round about his uncle grew steep cliffs, from which his uncle vainly tried to get out. But Aukẽ went home and said his uncle would return later. When he had not returned after five days, Aukẽ magically removed the rocks and then his uncle at last came home, nearly starved.

He planned to kill Aukẽ in still another way: he put Aukẽ on a mat and gave him food; but Aukẽ said he knew perfectly well what he was trying to do. Then he knocked the boy down with his club and burnt him up. Then all left the village and moved to a distant spot. Amčõkwỵ̈i cried, but her mother said, "Why are you crying now? Did not you yourself want to kill him?"

After a considerable time Amčõkwỵ̈i asked the chief and elders to have Aukẽ's ashes brought. They sent two men to the deserted village to see whether the ashes were still there. When the two arrived, they saw that Aukẽ had turned into a white man. He had built a large house and created Negroes out of the black heartwood of a tree, horses out of bacury wood, cattle from piquiá. He called the two messengers and showed them his estate. Then he called his mother to live with him. Aukẽ is Emperor Dom Pedro II [reigned 1831–1889].

YAWỴ̈

An Indian named Yawỵ̈ went into a plantation that had been burnt over only a short time before. There on the ground a hollow log was lying, unscathed outside, but glowing inside. As Yawỵ̈ stepped on it, he broke it, falling in so as to burn his foot. Months passed and the wound would not heal; finally he was unable to get up. One day his parents left him at home alone and went into the plantation to fetch sweet potatoes. Then two souls of dead people came to the sick man. At the door they turned into hummingbirds, then they entered and asked for his name. Yawỵ̈ answered that since they were older they were to mention their names first. Then one spirit said, "I am your grandmother, Pokore"; and the other, "I am your grandfather, Henmairõre." Then the latter brought the leaves of an epiphyte from a burity palm, rubbed them fine, and put them on the sick foot. Thereupon he kneaded it, squeezing out a live coal, and soon the pain in the foot ceased. When they heard his father coming from afar, both of them turned into little wild doves, tripped through the house, and flew away. Yawỵ̈'s father, however, noticed the birds' tracks and asked whether perchance doves had come into the house, but Yawỵ̈ answered that those were not dove tracks, but that the wind had been playing with grass stalks on the floor.

The next day, when his father had again gone out, and Yawỵ̈ was alone with his mother, he rose and went to the creek to bathe. His mother wanted to call him back, but he would not be dissuaded. Beside the road to the water were standing two spirits. They showed him a broad street, along which they led him to a place where many of the dead were assembled. The majority were horribly disfigured and mutilated. "What shall we give Yawỵ̈?" they asked. They turned into beasts and birds of prey and went hunting. Soon they returned with rich booty, which they offered Yawỵ̈ as a gift. He, however, accepted only one parrot, one jacú (*Penelope marail*), and an agouti, telling them to eat the rest themselves. He returned with the spoils and again lay down on his bedstead. When his father, who still believed him incapable of rising, returned, and saw the human tracks, he scolded because he thought a stranger had been there. But Yawỵ̈ explained that the tracks were his own; he stated that men of his age class had given him the game.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

773
539

At night two jaguars came and took Yawɣ' along. They killed a forest deer, giving it to Yawɣ', who took it home and gave it to his father in the morning, who was to take it along to the plantation and have meat pies made therefrom since Yawɣ' was not yet allowed to eat of it. On the other hand, he asked his brother-in-law to catch piabinha fish for him. But the brother-in-law preferred to hunt pacas (*Coelogenys paca*) and succeeded in killing two; being hungry, he cut off a slice of flesh from one, roasted and ate it without washing his blood-stained hands. Then he was seized with violent abdominal pains. When he got home, however, Yawɣ' kneaded his belly, squeezing out the head of a paca which he threw into the bush; forthwith the brother-in-law was free of pain.

While Yawɣ' was again lying on his bedstead, his wife yielded to the courting of another man in the steppe. Then Yawɣ' turned into a yuruti dove (*Leptotilia rufaxilla*), tripped through the house, flew up and sat on a branch directly above the pair. When the man saw the bird so close by, he said, "Would that I had my bow here as always when I was a boy! I'd shoot you and roast you in the ashes." Then Yawɣ' flew away. He turned into a tucandira ant (*Cryptocerus atratus;* 4 cm. long), ran to the pair, stung them in their genitalia, and escaped. When his wife got home, Yawɣ' had her called to her mother's home since she could no longer bear the pain. She pretended having been stung while gathering leaves. Yawɣ', however, directly charged her with adultery and revealed that he had been the yuruti perched above the pair.

HĄHĄ'K AND THE KING VULTURE[**]

An ant (*Atta cephalotes*) had crept into the acoustic duct of a man named Hąhą'k and had bitten itself fast there. Hąhą'k's ear turned full of pus, abscesses developed all over his body, and in them maggots formed. At last he grew so weak and lean that he was unable to get up. About this time his tribesmen left their old village to settle elsewhere far away. Then Hąhą'k's parents abandoned the patient. But before leaving they put him on a mat inside the house, covered him with another mat, and placed drinking water and manioc flat cakes by his side.

After a few days the caracarahy falcon (*Milvago chimachima*) reached the deserted village. He soon discovered that a man was lying under the mat, and considering him dead he called the urubús (carrion vultures, *Catharies* sp.) so that they might jointly devour him. The urubús, however, did not feel sure about it and sent for their chief, the king vulture (*Gypagus papa*), who came and threw off the mat. When he saw the man's pitiable condition and satisfied himself that he was still alive, he took pity on him and decided to help him. First he had the hummingbird called, who, with his long, thin beak removed the ant from Hąhą'k's ear. Then he called his urubús and ordered them to pick the maggots and pus from the wounds. They had to bring water in their beaks and wash Hąhą'k with it. The king vulture then urged the sick man to eat, but he was still too weak. Then he invited him to come to the sky with him. He had to shut his eyes while the urubús on both sides of him pushed their wings under his body. Thus they flew up with him and lifted him to the sky, while others flying directly above him shielded him from the sun with their outstretched wings.

Arriving in the sky, the king vulture took Hąhą'k to his dwelling. He did not make him eat the repulsive dishes of the urubús, but entertained him with roast meat and manioc flatcakes. Hąhą'k ate and was soon completely restored. Then the king vulture ordered the carapinhe falcons (*Polyborus* sp.) to make race logs and arranged a festival, which Hąhą'k attended. Only when it was over did he order the urubús to take the visitor down to the deserted village.

Meanwhile Hąhą'k's parents had enjoyed no peace. They resolved to return and see what had happened to their son and, if necessary, bring his bones with them for interment. So they moved back to the abandoned village, but found the spot empty where he had been lying. But after a while they heard him come singing. Then, they hid in terror, for they believed it was the spirit of a dead man. But soon they recognised that he was alive and took him along to the new village. There Hąhą'k taught his tribe to organise a festival like that he had witnessed among the birds in the sky; since which time the Rąmkŏ'kamakra celebrate pepkahą'k.

THE UNDERWORLD

A man once went hunting while his wife was working on the farm. He found an armadillo burrow, put his hand in, and grasped the armadillo by the tail. When he had almost pulled the animal out, it got away, escaping into its burrow. Now the man worked from morning till night, digging three deep holes without reaching his quarry. At last he went home thwarted and told his story to his wife. She begged him not to let the armadillo escape.

The next day he again vainly labored from morning until night. On the third day he dug still farther, not heeding the great depth of his hole. He threw the earth up, yet it did not fall back.

[**] Cf. Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 184.

1t. Ntmuendaju E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira

773
539

Suddenly he pierced the roof of the underworld (ikrakripyē) and tumbled down. He fell precisely on a burity and came to lie on its leafy top. When he turned around, he noticed that he was on a steppe, but round about no living being was to be seen, not even a bird; everything near and far was quiet. Then he discovered that he had got into another world. Hungry and thirsty, he had to linger on the palm, whose trunk was far too thick to permit climbing and far too high for jumping down. His wife notified the men of the village that her husband had already disappeared for two days. They looked for his tracks till they found the hole; they looked inside, but it was dark there.

On the second day the armadillo turned into a cockroach and in this shape fell on the man's head up on the palm. He seized it with both hands, saying, "If only this animal could bring me back to my own world!" The cockroach told him to hold it fast and when he had removed it from his head, it asked, "Do you know me?" "Yes," answered the man, "you are po'ti, the cockroach." "My name is po'ti and tōm (armadillo). You wanted to dig me up. Then I got angry and made you fall through the hole. Now I'll try to bring you back. Hold fast to my tail." The man did so, and the cockroach flew up the hole with him. It circled round the hole and ordered him to shut his eyes, then flew in and thus took him back to the upper world. It dismissed him and told him not to pursue any more armadillos.

The man returned to his village, where his kin were crying. He told how he had fallen down, that there were neither men nor beasts below, that the armadillo in the guise of a cockroach had brought him back, and that they were not to kill any more armadillos. An old man then said, "No, that's not possible. What we must do is to destroy the armadillo sorcerer lest he kill one Indian after another. No one would be able to hunt armadillos any more, for he would teach the others his trick."

Then two Indians lay down in ambush at the edge of the plantation while the man himself went to the hole, called the armadillo, and invited it to come with him to the plantation to eat soft maize. The armadillo was at first suspicious, but the man quieted it. When they were at the edge of the plantation, the two simultaneously shot at the animal from their hiding place, whereupon all three hurriedly fled from fear of the armadillo's magic. Only the following day they ventured to go there again and found it stiff and dead.

TEČWARE (SHARPENED-LEG)[=]

Two brothers-in-law went together to hunt in the woods. When they were camped by their fire at night, one of them saw his comrade put one leg into the fire. He shouted at him and threw his leg aside, but soon the other again stuck it in. His companion again pulled it out, but when it was put in for the third time the brother-in-law thought to himself, "Let him do as he pleases!" Then the foot was burnt up. The mutilated man seized it, broke it off, and hurled it far away under a piquy tree, crying, "Brother-in-law, a piquy fruit has dropped there!" But the answer was, "Let me sleep! Tomorrow I shall get it." But when he got there the next morning he found nothing but a charred foot.

The other man took a snail-shell scraper and sharpened his shinbone to a good point. "Brother-in-law," he then said, "if our people hunt pigs and one should come near me I'll do thus!" And he suddenly struck out with the bone point of his leg against his companion. "What!" cried this one, "I haven't done anything to you! Why do you want to kill me?" "No," the other answered, "I am only showing you the way I do!" He continued scraping the point of his shinbone and then said, "Brother-in-law, when our people hunt tapirs and one of them gets near me I'll do thus!" and again he tried to kill him with a blow of his bone point. Then the brother-in-law was terrified, turned into a rat, and slipped into the hollow of a tree.

TeČware stuffed dry leaves into the hollow and went to fetch a firebrand in order to smoke out his brother-in-law, who however was able to get out of his prison and to hide to one side. From his refuge he saw TeČware burning down the entire tree. Then he went home.

KUPĒTÍAYAPRÉ[=]

(a) Because of Kupētíayaprē's attacks the Rąmkō'kamekra were obliged to abandon their village. She had kidnaped two boys in order to raise them. One day the two decided to kill one of her pet mutuns (*Mitua mitu*) in order to eat it. They roasted it by the water hole, ate it, and thoroughly washed their hands. When she brought her pet birds under cover in the evening for sleeping, she noticed that one mutun was lacking. First she went to the plaza and scented the hands of all present. Not discovering the culprit there, she went on searching from house to house. When she got to the two boys, she at once recognized them as the perpetrators and struck them on the chest with her clenched fist; but the boys did not give way.

The next day she made a lance and prepared a quantity of manioc paste, for she wanted to kill

[=] te, lower leg; čwa, point; =re, diminutive.

[=] kupē', foreign tribe; tia, woman; yapré, brave.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

773
539

the boys and make pies of their flesh. The boys' foster father, however, warned them to be on their guard. The next day Kupẽtiayapré threw the lance at one of them in the plaza, but he had been on his guard and dodged. Then she resolved to club the boys to death the following morning.

But at midnight the foster father called them, and all three fled. They first swam down the creek and fled on across the steppe, while the foster father returned. When Kupẽtiayapré noticed the flight the next morning, she at once gave pursuit. Along the creek she looked until she found the spot where the boys had got out onto the bank. Thence she followed their tracks by scenting. When the two saw that they were being pursued, they crawled into an armadillo burrow and stopped up the entrance with a rock. The pursuer discovered the boys' hiding place, but since it was late she postponed digging them up till the next day. At night, however, the boys came out, again stopped up the hole with a rock, and escaped.

In the evening they got to their deserted villages . . . [There follows the story of their encounter with the spirits given as one variant of the ketâaye origin myth, page 172].

(b) Two brothers, Krowapú and Kom, got to Kupẽtiayapré's village. She was plaiting a forehead band, while singing, "Wa-wa wa-wa hahaná." The two first watched her, then decided to deflower her. They asked whether she would yield to their embraces, to which the girl replied she would yield to the man who beat her in a race. For this purpose she went outside the village with them. After they had gone a great distance together, the two boys said they had verily gone far enough to begin the race back to the village. Kupẽtiayapré, however, said the distance was still far too short and went on as far again. Then they started, but soon the two boys fell far behind. When at last they arrived at the village, the girl had been long sitting at her labors, singing. Then Krowapú and Kom gave up their plan.

But when Kupẽtiayapré went down to the water, they decided to steal one of her many mutums. They did so and jointly ate up the bird, whereupon they carefully washed their hands. In the evening Kupẽtiayapré called her pet birds together to their sleeping place and counted them. Then she found one lacking. She went from house to house and smelled the hands of all the inmates, and when she got to Krowapú she at once recognized that he had stolen the mutum. She spoke harshly to him, "He, Krowapú!" and with her fist struck his chest. Krowapú only returned the blow twice, then he was not able to continue, and both he and Kom received blows till they were weeping.

LAGÕA PORMOSA

In the extreme east of the old Rąmkõ'kamekra area there is a lake in the steppe called Lagõa Formosa by the Neobrazilians. At one time there was an island in the lake that constantly shifted its position. On it was standing a pindahiba tree, which inclined hither and thither till its top would nearly touch the level of the water.

Once a band of hunters moved past near the lake and saw a queer animal walking along on the steppe by the lake. It resembled somewhat the great anteater (*Myrmecophaga jubata*). At once one of the hunters pursued the animal, ready to shoot, but when he got near it his companions noted with amazement that he removed the arrow from the string, which he took off the stave and wrapped around the tip of his bow; then he shouldered the bow, and peaceably walked on with the beast. At once two other hunters, their weapons in readiness, pursued the animal and the man, but with the same result. As soon as they had caught up, they lowered their weapons, took them under their arms, and quietly walked beside the animal, which marched toward the lake with its three companions, and all together vanished from the sight of the hunting party.

Later, a band of Rąmkõ'kamekra were again hunting in the vicinity of the lake and camped by its shore. Suddenly they saw an Indian carrying a slain deer on his back toward the lagoon. They thought he wanted to drink there, but he entered the water and disappeared. Soon they heard a noise below the water, then the sound of a dance rattle, and of dancers; after a while the noise died away. At the hour of nocturnal dancing the sound was heard again, and once more before dawn. Then the hunters in alarm abandoned the site, for they recognized that the lake was the dwelling of the souls of the dead.

Today Neobrazilians are living by the shore of the lake; the island with its pindahiba tree has vanished, and nothing more is heard of the spirits. Probably they have moved off since the arrival of the Neobrazilians.

p. 250 is blank